

THE NEW REPUBLIC.

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Greatness.

There are different orders of greatness. Among these the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity; to that sublime energy by which the soul, smitten with the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and for death, to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; bears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders; withstands all the powers of the Universe, which would sever it from the cause of freedom and religion; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever "ready to be offered up" on the altar of its country or of mankind.

Next to moral, comes *intellectual* greatness, or genius in the highest sense of that word; and by this we mean that sublime capacity of thought, through which the soul, smitten with the love of the true and the beautiful, essays to comprehend the Universe, soars into the heavens, penetrates the earth, penetrates itself, questions the past, anticipates the future, traces out the general and all-comprehensive laws of Nature, binds together by innumerable affinities and relations all the objects of its knowledge, rises from the finite and transient to the infinite and the everlasting, frames to itself from its own fullness lower and subtler forms than it holds, discerns the harmonies between the world within and the world without us, and finds in every region of the Universe types and interpreters of its own deep mysteries and glorious inspirations. This is the greatness which belongs to philosophers, and to the master spirits in poetry and the fine arts.

Next comes greatness of *action*; and by this we mean the sublime power of conceiving bold and extensive plans; of constructing and bringing to bear on a mighty object a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements, and of accomplishing great outward effects.

—[William Ellery Channing.

Arming the Blacks.

Much has been said concerning the inhumanity of arming the blacks. All war is necessarily inhuman; but I can not perceive why there is more inhumanity in a black man fighting for his freedom than in a white man fighting for the same cause. Doubtless, long years of oppression have brutalized many of the slaves, and darkened their moral sense almost as much as it has that of the slaveholders. If, wearied out with their long waiting in vain for help, and goaded by the increase of their sufferings, they should resort to insurrection, indiscriminate cruelty might be the result. But this danger would be averted by organizing them under the instruction and guidance of officers who would secure their confidence by just treatment. They are by nature docile, and have been trained to habits of obedience. There seems no reason to apprehend that their passage through any district would be accompanied with more devastation than that of other troops. As for bravery, they would be stimulated to it by the most powerful motives that can act on human nature—the prospect of freedom on the one hand, and the fear of falling into their masters' power on the other.—[L. Maria Child.

The evils of a false theology are most palpably seen in the popular idea of the necessity of regeneration. According to the Christian faith, the first birth counts nothing but damnation, and invariably counts that. No amount of growth from the first birth can fit one for the joys of heaven. A second alone can do this. What need of careful effort, then, in the first work, if it has to be gone over with again? What mechanic would properly attend to the construction of a piece of mechanism, if he knew that another and more expert artisan were to fashion it after him? In order to insure perfection in any work—or to approach thereto, the ideal of perfection must exist in the mind of the laborer, and inspire his efforts.—[C. M. Plumb.

Jesus.

Whilst our ideality is pained at viewing the imperfection of Humanity which every where meets our gaze, whether directed to its exhibition on the stage of the present, or in the delineations found in the faithful records of the past—it is at the same time pleased with the belief that the august forms of perfect Justice and Holiness are not only at home with God in Heaven, but also that one being has lived and walked among our race clothed with the robe of innocence, of unsullied virtue, of moral perfection. In the historical life of Jesus of Nazareth we see virtue exemplified with a coloring which the creation of human ideality can never surpass, even if it should ever equal it. He truly reflected the moral nature—imaged forth—acted out, on the stage of life, the moral character of the invisible God. In this respect he was a model God as well as a model man.

There appears to exist in human nature a moral necessity for just such an exhibition as Jesus made in actual life to man, of the character of God. We could never have got that perception of truth in the idea of virtue and goodness we now have, had not Jesus lived the life and died the death he did in our world. We are also beings of imitation—can better copy an example than obey an abstract precept of right. Such is the case in a state of childhood. And the moral world has not yet progressed beyond such a state. Yes, truly as the child to the parent, ought we to look to Jesus as our example of moral excellence.

To estimate aright any system or subject, we must penetrate to the heart of it—seize hold of its spirit. To the Bible many give (and I think justly) a prominence among books. But what would the Bible be to us without the New Testament? Christianity is the heart of the Bible. But Christ is Christianity. And what is the heart of Christ—yes, what is the heart of Jesus?—by what spirit was he actuated?—what spirit did he inculcate as the governing one for man? To know his heart, to find out that which was most within him, we must look at what he did, said and suffered, as affording us the best index to his moral nature.

Some have called Jesus a *moral genius*. There is enough recorded of him of an authentic nature to lead us to believe that he possessed in an eminent degree the good spirit of God. That in him that spirit that has so long striven with and developed an imperfect Humanity, became *objective*—turned out from the unconscious to the conscious state. And that in him we see *who* it is that has so long been with and striving for the good of our race.

without being known. And his spirit might have said to the ages that preceded him, as he did to a personal follower, "Have I been so long with thee without being known?"

Of the birth and early life of Jesus we have but little authentic record. It is of his character, rather than his origin and nature, we now treat. It is said that the child Jesus grew and acquired strength of mind, being filled with wisdom, and adorned with a divine gracefulness. Also that at twelve years of age he amazed and astonished all who heard him by his understanding and answers whilst in conference with Jewish Rabbins in the temple. But notwithstanding he was advancing in wisdom and stature and in power with God and man—and had a divine commission from his Father—he was not unmindful of the relative duties of life, but remained in subjection to his parents for thirty years according to the institutions of his country. He submitted to the religious ordinances of his country—satisfied its institutions—submitted to the baptism of John. He observed the true teachings of the law, but countenanced not the corrupt practices of those who only pretended to be governed by it.

He possessed that state of mind which held on to the teachings of the past till they had accomplished all the good which they were capable of effecting—and when their mission was fulfilled he stood ready to ratify and honor the new dispensation for a progressing Humanity—thus exhibiting himself to be a *conservative progressionist*—the only safe kind of one.

But Jesus had a mission to perform. He was sent into the world by the Infinite and Perfect as a teacher of his will. He who sent him also qualified him for his mission—endowed him with superhuman power. I startle not at the word *super* or *supernatural*. I believe that Jesus Christ spake the word of God peculiarly—that the good spirit of God dwelt without limit or measure within him. His *supernatural* power was probably *natural* to him. He possessed power in an eminent degree. But the possession of power, or even of peculiar power, is not virtue—the right use of power is what we call virtue. In addition to the duties growing out of his manhood, Jesus had the duties of his mission to perform, for the performance of which he was especially endowed. And as he discharged the duties devolving on him in virtue of his humanity, so was he obedient to the duties of his mission. Many ambassadors or agents are unfaithful to their charge, sink the duties due their king or country in their own individual interests, turn traitors to their employers, and seek their own honor and interests rather than that of those who sent them; but such was not the character of Jesus—though as strongly

tempted in all points as other men are. He might have misused the gifts of power bestowed upon him for his own gratification or earthly elevation. An abuse of it might not have led to the loss of it directly. Some think of the obedience of Christ in the discharge of the work appointed him as a matter of course—that he could not have done otherwise than he did. But if such a view be correct, it destroys all virtue in the impersonation of virtue herself—voluntariness is essential to virtue. God (with due reverence I would say it) is obedient to law imposed on him by his own infinite reason, and it is only *morally* impossible for him to sin—that is he has no *disposition* to do so. He doubtless feels the claims of benevolence binding upon him and chooses to obey them. And Christ too chose to obey them. Nearly all the so-called great of our earth have risen to elevation by flattering and ministering to the pride and prejudices of the people, and have sunk their virtue in their ambitious desires. But so did not Jesus in one single instance. And who was ever more strongly tempted than he to use his power for his own individual benefit? He never performed a miracle for his own benefit. Was there ever a more propitious time than his to take advantage of the expectations of the Jews for a temporal king, to free them from the Roman yoke and raise himself to earthly elevation by his power? Neither bodily suffering, nor the prospect of worldly greatness, nor the desire of human applause, could divert him from what he knew to be duty. He would not sacrifice principle to policy, which nearly all have done before rising to worldly greatness.

Every sincerely virtuous person must resist temptation as did Jesus and overcome it. Labor is before virtue, and there will and must be a severe struggle in all virtuous endeavors, between propensity or policy and principle, before the great victory is achieved. Doubtless every person has some peculiar or besetting temptation which prevents, if not overcome, their being truly virtuous; and after gaining a permanent victory over such, they will appear beautifully clothed with the grace and dignity emanating from a right, a liberated mind. If virtue requires us to deny ourselves of any enjoyment, it insures to us at the same time a greater one in its stead by the self denial. We are tempted to sin by the presentation of some object as a motive containing more or less of good in it. No sane or rational mind, any more than one of the finny tribe, will seize hold of an unbaited hook, or that which is only evil—unassociated with a good.

Sin is a wrong use of good—an abuse of enjoyments—that use of them which will injure ourselves or others. Now the good was made to be

enjoyed by God the giver—but enjoyed properly, or in that way which will impart to us the most durable happiness. We often make sad mistakes in our greediness after happiness. *Happiness* will be the final result of right living; still it is not the end or object of this life—but *character* is. That suffering blessedness attending a true and sacred life like that of Jesus differs from the too common idea of happiness. Reference has been had to the particular temptations of Jesus immediately succeeding his baptism by John. But his whole life was one continued scene of temptation, trial and suffering, from its commencement to its close—most eminently so. In his virtuous resolutions and labors he was continually beset by as proud and crafty, prejudiced and malignant a set of adversaries as perhaps our world ever produced.

The Pharisees would not believe that a prophet could arise out of Galilee—the Messiah must be sent to the church—could not spring from the dregs of the people. His simplicity and purity were disagreeable to their artifices and hypocrisy. They felt themselves rebuked by his modest but severe virtue—hence the origin of their crafty and malignant machinations against him, and which were often the occasion of his exhibiting that wisdom and purity, emblemed by the serpent and the dove, which governed in perfection all he said and did.

It appears that he at first began to explain to individuals gradually the nature of his kingdom. John the Baptist did not at first know that he was the Messiah, though such a reverence did he entertain for his virtue that he felt unworthy to administer his ordinance to him.

Jesus first developed in his interesting conversations with Nicodemus and the woman of Samaria the spiritual nature of his reign; and after having proved his pretensions so far as the exhibition of superhuman power could do so, he took up a course of reasoning recorded in the 5th chapter of John, and confuted the cavillers to his claims on their own admissions. A perfect specimen of logic on this point may be found in this chapter, commencing with the 31st verse and continuing to the end of it. In fact, all his arguments with the Jews abound with the best specimens of logic, impassioned eloquence, wit and the keenest satire.

They were perfectly foiled in every effort to entrap and confound him; and they often exhibited in such efforts a most deep and devilish cunning.

In the case of the adulterous woman they thought themselves sure of their victim—sure of matter of which to accuse him, let his answer be what it might. Should he say put her to death, he would clash

with Roman law, which was then paramount to the Jewish, not allowing the Jews to put any one to death under it. Should he say let her go clear, they would stir up the populace, saying he taught differently from Moses. He appeared to be in a state of deep abstraction, and was writing (I have often wished I knew what) on the ground; but as they continued asking, looking up, "Let him," says he, "that is sinless among you cast the first stone." After which he again stooped down and resumed his writing on the ground, leaving them to their own reflections, and for conscience to do its own work, uninterrupted by irritating disturbances from without. To an honest enquirer he always gave a gentle and direct answer—he always gave just such an answer as the querist merited. He seemed to discern the heart and its motives, and dispensed justice in his answers as well as in his acts to all. In this case they gave up the contest, as usual, and retreated with conscious defeat as well as conscious guilt. And he doubtless perceiving that the criminal was sufficiently contrite not to abuse pardon—not to be encouraged in future sinning by it—"Go," says the merciful teacher, "but sin no more." His course was not exclusively one of *gentleness*, or of *severity*; but *each one in its place*.

Another instructive incident in the life of Jesus is that of the cure of the blind man. The Jews could not deny the cure, or the benevolence of it. But it was a desecration of the Sabbath—as though man was made for the Sabbath, and not the Sabbath for man. The mistake was not peculiar to the Jews—many yet seem to think that man was made for religion and its institutions, rather than that they were instituted for his benefit, as means for strengthening virtue and goodness in us. After a long wrangling with the poor blind man, just rejoicing for the first time in the pleasures of vision, they cast him out of their synagogue. Being forsaken by friends and relatives, (for even his parents dare not stand up for him, but dodged the subject when interrogated by the Jews,) he was not entirely forsaken. Jesus sought him out in his degraded state, and cheered him in his lowly condition by a kind word—the value of which to those in trouble perhaps none of us sufficiently estimate. He told him he was the promised Messiah, sent for the benefit of just such individuals as he, susceptible of being taught. It is said he cried out, "Master, I believe," and worshipped him. Yes, notwithstanding his excommunication, he found and rejoiced in truth and virtue incarnate. His exclusion was no doubt a great spiritual benefit to him.

A prominent incident in the life of Christ is his Sermon on the Mount. John's mission having closed, he commenced to act more publicly in intro-

dacing his own, for which John's had been preparatory. This sermon appears to be a public enunciation of the principles of his kingdom. The principles no doubt found a responsive echo in a few humble minds, but most of the hearers were no doubt grievously disappointed on the occasion. They were in expectation of a great deliverer. They had seen his miracles. He had told them the kingdom of God was nigh. All eyes were directed towards him—they were waiting for a disclosure of his designs—they crowded about him to seize at once the advantages of his new reign. Jesus well knew their mistakes in reference to himself, and desired to correct them—decidedly, but mildly. And the result of that desire was this sermon.

But he raised no standard of deliverance from the Roman yoke. He spoke of his kingdom, but it was a spiritual, not a temporal one. He proclaimed deliverance, but it was from superstition, falsehood and sin. He turned their attention internally upon their own souls—not to an external kingdom. His kingdom was not for the proud, the aspiring, those thirsting for revenge, and those girding on the armor for battle. His kingdom was designed for the humble, the merciful, the meek, peace-makers, the pure in heart,—such were to be its subjects. How perfectly in contrast to their expectations were his expositions. Many of his hearers must have been as much astonished at the matter of his discourse as at the tone of conscious moral authority with which it was delivered.

All false Messiahs, like all imposters, flattered the prejudices of the people, and exhibited such traits as were expected and desired by them. But truly coming from God, Jesus used no such policy; he rose above his nature, the times, and looked to the future. He contradicted the cherished sentiments of the people as to what the Messiah should be. None of those around him were able fully to comprehend his motives or his doctrines. He stood alone, only the Father was with him.

Another characteristic of Jesus is that he had his seasons of meditation and devotion. He used to retire from the crowds into the wilderness, in deep meditation with the truth of things—alone with God, to pray. And once he spent a whole night in this manner.

"Cold mountains and the midnight air
Witnessed the fervor of his prayer;
The closet his temptation knew,
His conflict, and his victory too."

Some think our race have progressed beyond the need of the aid of prayer to sustain a virtuous life. 'Tis doubtless true that some need more of this aid than others. But doubtless no one of our race has progressed beyond the need of the aid afforded by

special seasons of meditation and prayer, toward sustaining a truly virtuous life. Prayer is no doubt much abused—misused—trusted in as an end, rather than used as a means to strengthen and confirm virtuous resolutions; and by some it is doubtless substituted in the place of virtue. But if Christ needed the aid of prayer to sustain principle in force, who of our imperfect race can safely dispense with it? We stifle a normal demand of our nature when doing so, most evidently.

But, say some, Jesus was at times angry and denunciatory. True, his philosophy did not prevent the action of his emotional nature. And it remains yet to be shown that a smothering of virtuous sensibilities is right. And all the detailed circumstances of his exhibitions of anger justify the harshness of his expressions. In them he only manifested his virtuous abhorrence of the vices of the Pharisees, indulged under the sanctimonious appearance of religion. We know there is danger of being too harsh in our opposition to wrong, but I know of no evidence that Jesus was so, when all circumstances are considered.

But turning from the deserved harshness to the Jews, let us listen to his sympathizing and touching invitation to a different class: "Come to me all you who toil and are burthened, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and be taught by me; for I am meek and condescending; and your souls shall find relief. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." A most touching invitation to virtue.

'Tis true, when he saw a contentious and caviling spirit, he could and did use satire, and sometimes that of the keenest kind. Once the Jews being foiled in argument with him, resorted to the argument of force, and took up stones to stone him, when he remarked, "Many good works have I shown to you from the Father; for which of these works do you stone me?" I have wished that I could have seen the countenance of Jesus whilst he was uttering that sentence.

It is said that once and again he fed a large multitude on a small amount of sustenance. The crowd began now to think they could live without labor, and followed him very closely—so much so that he was once obliged to secrete himself from them. But after some calculation and pursuit they found him, and began to make inquiries of him, calling him Rabbi. But knowing them, he addressed them in what we would call plain talk. "You seek me," said he, "only because you eat of the loaves and were filled,"—abrupt and plain—but just what they doubtless deserved; for many were doubtless following him merely from the motives he alleged.

Jesus I understand to be virtue personified. Hence the pertinence of such declarations as these: "If any man will come under my guidance, let him renounce himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me. He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me. He who loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And whosoever renounces not all he has can not be my disciple"—that is, virtue demands the highest claim on our affections, and every thing should be renounced that clashes with its claims. X. P.

[To be Continued.]

Suppressing the Abolitionists.

"Let us suppress the Abolitionists," cries some slack-witted orator, "and the Rebellion will end!" Of course it will, you dear soul; and if all your fellow-citizens had been of your calibre and kidney there would have been no rebellion at all. If Hampden and his friends had said, "Let us suppress these fellows who cry out against ship-money," England would have quietly submitted to the tyranny of the Stuarts. If Otis and Patrick Henry had shouted, "Hurrah for King George and the Stamp Act!" there would have been no bloody revolution. If Mirabeau and the French people had bellowed, "Hurrah for starvation; aristocrats forever!" all the trouble in France would have speedily ended. To be sure every right would have been annihilated, every liberty destroyed, and a few rich and remorseless people would have governed France; but there would have been no difficulty, except moral rot and general national decay.

"Let us suppress the Abolitionists!" But suppose you begin at the beginning. First subdue the common sense of the people of the Country; then you may subdue those who influence it. It is not what you call, with an amazing persistence, Abolitionism which caused the war, but the opening of the eyes of the people so that they saw. The people of this Country know perfectly well that Slavery is at the bottom of this Rebellion. If there had been no slavery there would have been no war; just as there would have been no Abolitionism. The temperance movement springs from drunkenness; and when a drunkard tries to kill his wife, don't you think the teetotalers are responsible for it?

Slavery was trying to kill the Country. It had almost succeeded. "Watch! watch!" shouted the Abolitionists. Slavery, maddened that its crime was discovered, shot and stabbed right and left. "There! there!" cry the sensible Wickliffe and company—"this comes of calling the watch! Why the devil can't you hold your tongues? Let us suppress these fellows that cry Watch! watch! and all will be quiet again!"—[Harper's Weekly.

Seed Time and Harvest.

* * * * *

Sown in the cold, dark, desolate days;
Reaped in the sunshine's mellow blaze:
Thus in the dim and wondrous ways
Of Fate are the deeds of men—
Sorrow and trial, defeats and delays,
Like storms that soften the grain,

Must test the heart's aspiring claim;
But every just and noble aim
Shall pass the ordeal clear of blame,
And in the appointed hour
Bring forth its fruit of wealth or fame,
Of knowledge, wisdom, power.

Sow, though in days of gloom, the seeds
Of manful toil and generous deeds,
Of stern self-sacrifice, that heeds
Little the world's behest;
Cast out the lying thought that pleads
"Enough, now take thy rest."

In the winds of Scorn, the storms of Hate,
In the darkness of hope deferred full late,
Through days when the world shows desolate,
Must sleep the good deeds thou hast done;
Faithfully labor, patiently wait,
Thy work shall see the sun.

That which was sown in the wintry air
Shall blossom and ripen when skies are fair.
Though thine should be many an anxious care
Ere the harvest is gathered in—
Be stout to toil and steady to bear—
The heart that is true shall win.

—[Chambers' Journal.

Words of Approval.

DEAR NEW REPUBLIC:—I address you this morning to say, you will please not seek me away on the fair prairies of Wisconsin any longer, but be laid on a clean shelf in the Editor's sanctum till I call you to some other point on this young and beautiful, though convulsed and sanguinary planet.

I am told martial law is declared throughout the Country, and am apprehensive that your clear expressions of truth and patriotism will come under the ban of power, and you will be compelled to suspend the messages of liberty for a time, and live only in our yearning souls and burning thoughts. However this may be, speak as long as you can in behalf of human and equal rights. Thus far, I think you have labored to good purpose, and been commended privately more than publicly. Friend Murray's brave denunciations utter the sentiments of thousands who dare not proclaim them; but they thank him, and it is but just that he be informed of it.

I am well pleased with the most of your contents, and have found you so full and expressive that no need appeared for my offerings. Yet, one day I felt like whispering with you to all the world, and took my pen and scroll out to my poplar bower in the pleasant grove; but in the spacious atmosphere and the free music of a million leaves, my subject became so expansive, (though I said not one word of sweet scenery or the delightful company that I have and that I don't have all alone,) that when I came to copy the scribblings on a steady table, with no breezy rustle in my ringlets, they filled two foolscap sheets, and I've not found leisure to set so long a sermon in the array the printer requires.

But herewith are kindly greetings, best wishes, and an earnest of mindfullness.

MARY E. TILLOTSON.

Julu, Wis., August 25, '62.

The Revolution World-Wide.

Perhaps, looking at the ease of the Nation now, we are disposed to limit the great work of God. Perhaps we think so much of the United States alone, that we would be glad to limit this revolution. There are indications, my friends, that this revolution is to be world-wide before it is ended. There are indications that all nations are to be sucked into this maelstrom, and that when we are free, the world will be free too. I can interpret in no other way the ineffable stupidity of our rulers. I can in no other way interpret the fact, that in this great emergency we have a tortoise for President, except that, through the dreary lengths of a long war, gradually France, England, Russia, all monarchies and absolutisms, are to be drawn into this controversy that sweeps over the land, the elements will melt with fervent heat, and the whole world be baptized with a fiery baptism and be redeemed. Let them come on! I say to the tyrants of the Old World, "What thou doest do quickly!" I hope that England and France will intervene. Let them! It will only bring us shoulder to shoulder. Even the Democrats will be in favor of abolishing Slavery to hold the South, while we attend to Europe; because, much as they love Slavery, the Democrats, especially the Irish, would rather whip England than do anything else on the face of the earth. If they intervene, it will save us, but it will be by a great and sweeping purification of this world; and we ought not to be so selfish, since God has given us stupid men to lead us in this war, as to say that it ought to be settled up quick. It would be agreeable to our feelings, it would be pleasant to see the death-blow of the Rebellion struck at once, for when

Slavery is struck, the Rebellion lies dead; but we ought to remember that there are other hearts that groan throughout the world. Besides the slaves, that there are other beings, all through Europe, all through the North and the South, who groan under monarchies and despotisms, and that these, too, must be redeemed; and the signs of the times are that this revolution is to be world-wide, and that Humanity is to rejoice in the fruits thereof.

—[Rev. M. D. Conway.

Lincoln's Reply to Greeley's Prayer.

It appears from the President's response to Greeley that he is not yet fully convinced that chattel Slavery is opposed to the best interests of this Nation. He says if Union could be best secured with Slavery, not a single slave should be freed. If a ball of ice could take the place of the Sun, and perform its office, probably no one would object; but to be willing to enjoy the blessings of liberty at the expense of four million slaves, or of one slave, is a sentiment worthy a Republican or Christian hypocrite.

For eighty years, for the sake of pecuniary prosperity, this nation of Christians has scourged and bought and sold its Jesus—otherwise there is no truth in his words, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these ye did it unto me." Jesus Christ must continue to toil and groan and bleed, that Abraham Lincoln may have the exquisite pleasure of testing whether oil and water will permanently unite! What is personal liberty, what is Jesus Christ compared to "our glorious Union"—"the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is?"

"Wo unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed. To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people. And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the desolation that shall come from far? When hypocrisy and legalized robbery have been the ruling idea of a nation for seventy years, it is not to be wondered that the Chief Magistrate should fail to recognize, in the signs of the times, the judgment of God. It is not strange that he should talk of disposing of the despised and oppressed solely with reference to the selfish interests of the oppressors. "The end is not yet." G. R.

Concentrated in one mighty phalanx must be the lovers and advocates of human freedom and progress. United by bonds of love, to live truly, to overcome evil with good, to teach purity by their own pure lives—such must be the pioneers, the advance guard in the march of Freedom on this Continent.—[Spirits.

What Emancipation Will Do.

The following extract is from an article in the New York Tribune, in reply to an article in the Times, in which that paper makes the question of emancipation of secondary importance. I regret that we have not room for the entire article.

"In the region publicly owning the sway of Jeff. Davis, (excluding sections in the possession of our armies,) there are this day about Eight Millions of People, of whom at least Three Millions are slaves. These slaves unanimously and intensely desire their freedom. This fact is established by the instinctive eagerness, when not deterred by terror of their rebel masters, with which they evince their sympathy for the Union cause. Wholesale and persistent lying being quite consistent with the sort of Chivalry that flourishes in Jeffidom, they are habitually assured by the whites that the Unionists will sell them to Cuba, will kill them, starve them, work them to death, &c., &c., and some color is given to these calumnies by the ominous silence of our Government, Halleck's Order No. 3 (not yet formally superseded), the cowardly assassination of a number of unarmed blacks by our soldiers at Norfolk, and a hundred minor instances wherein our Democratic army officers and soldiers have done the work of the rebels. All this has served to create distrust, hesitation, perplexity, among the ignorant, systematically deluded, and apprehensive slaves, who have had too much reason to fear all whites as their natural enemies. Still, the law of gravitation asserts itself, and the shrewder slaves already see, what is plain to every earnest, unconditional Unionist, that the Union must crush out Slavery, or Slavery will destroy the Union.

"Now a simple Proclamation from the White House, reciting the leading provisions of the Confiscation-Emancipation Act, and by virtue thereof declaring all the slaves of persistent rebels Free, inviting them to make their way promptly to the Union lines, and instructing our officers everywhere to welcome and treat them as friends, would give an immediate re-enforcement to the Union armies equal to a hundred veteran regiments and fifty well-served batteries. * * *

"How is it possible, then, for a Unionist of any sense to talk of this slave question as to be 'postponed' to something else? Is it important that our armies be strengthened? Certainly; but is it not likewise important that the rebels be weakened? And who can doubt that to supply almost half their population with the strongest possible reason for escaping forthwith from their jurisdiction and service to ours would immensely weaken them? Then why not do it?"

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CLEVELAND, Ohio.

A Card.

[The following, except the P. S., was prepared for, and forwarded to, the Western Star, the Republican paper for Warren Co., at Lebanon. After it had been there a week under editorial consideration, I concluded to withdraw it and forward it to the NEW REPUBLIC. O. S. M.]

My kind and esteemed friend, Judge John C. Dunlevy, informs me that information, prejudicial to my loyalty, has been made at his office, by some neighbor of mine. If that neighbor, whoever he may be, is not a sympathizer with Slavery and its Conspiracy, he has either misunderstood me, or has taken no proper opportunity to understand me. If he understands me, he must be at least a secret sympathizer with Slavery and its Conspiracy.

If the information made against me has proceeded on what I have recently published touching enlistments, be it known to all, once for all, that my object has been less to prevent enlistments than to produce a public sentiment that shall move the Administration to make better use of the men it has already transmuted from citizens into soldiers:—that these soldiers, instead of being prevented by inefficient command and incompetent generalship—to say no worse of it—be suffered to do their legitimate work actively, earnestly, effectively and effectually—not only overthrowing the Conspiracy, but removing the cause of it and thus preventing the possibility of its like.

When the Executive elect was on his way from Springfield to Washington, he told the people, in his public utterances all along his route, that it depended on them and not on him to terminate this controversy and work out the salvation of this Nation. Has not his every word and act since given them occasion to ponder well what he was then and thus saying to them? And is not excuse now everywhere pleaded for him, that he is waiting to be compelled by the people to do what needs to be done? Furthermore, is he not disloyal to the people in refusing to execute the recently enacted Confiscation Emancipation act of Congress—thus defying and

deceitfully the manifest voice of the people, while he pours out blood and treasure without stint and to no good purpose?

Let my censors read the following from the Cincinnati Gazette of August 7:—

"The impression that has been made on the minds of the people, that the President had determined on a new war policy, and on making war on the rebels by all the means which the rules of war justify, has given an impetus to volunteering, that will probably fill up the call for three hundred thousand volunteers. Without that encouragement it is doubtful if the call would have been responded to. The men who are volunteering do it from patriotism and a sense of duty, and without the conviction that every means which the rights of war allow will be used to destroy the military power of the rebels, make the war short and decisive, bring the rebels to subjection, and to preserve our own soldiers, they would have stayed at home."

"The President has, in various ways, created this conviction in the public mind, and it has been spread by the public press. To disappoint them in this, would be treachery to the men who have confided their lives to his management, as well as to the brave army now in the field, who enlisted in expectation that all legitimate means were to be used to make the war short and decisive. That which is needed to carry out this pledge to the people is, first, the removal of the military incompetency that has sacrificed so many thousands of brave men to no purpose; and, second, the enforcement of the Confiscation and Emancipation acts of Congress by the President, and by him made imperative on all subordinates.

"It would be monstrous if the free loyal men of the North could be taken by a forced draft to the field to support the Government against a rebellion, when at the same time that Government will not lay its hands on the slaves of the rebels for fear the Constitution will be impaired. That would make it a Constitution which exhausted itself in guarding the slaves of rebels, and had no protection for free white loyal men. Whether the slaves will make soldiers or not does not affect the question of depriving the rebels of their support. To do this, as may be done by an honest execution of the Confiscation and Emancipation acts, would strike a blow at the Rebellion which would save the lives of a hundred thousand loyal soldiers.

"To execute this law requires the imperative order of the President on all the officers of the army. Until that is made, these officers are not bound to know the law, and the manifest affinities of most of those in the leading commands will prevent their knowing or executing it as long as they can avoid it. Generals in the West are now making the return of negroes to rebel masters their chief business, while their subsistence trains are being captured, their communications cut off, and detachments surprised and taken prisoners.

"The order of Gen. Halleck to Gen. McClellan, to press all negroes into labor, without regard to their status, is simply an evasion of the law. There can be no way to defeat it more thoroughly, and to keep the slaves of rebels in their power, than to put every one that reaches our lines under a driver, to work, without any promise of freedom, or protection, or wages. The order is illegal, for we have no right to force these men into service in the army, when plenty of laborers can be had for low wages. It pretends to carry out the law while it wholly defeats it. Let the negroes be assured of protection and freedom,

as the law provides, and they would rush to our armies, and work for nothing if we asked it; but the order of Gen. Halleck is simply to make their fate in our army worse than with their masters, without any surety that they will not eventually be given up to their master's cruelties.

"The President began this war with an overflowing patriotism and enthusiasm on the part of the people, sufficient to have carried it through to a speedy and triumphant termination. This has been greatly depressed by the want of a determined policy on the part of the Administration against the Rebellion, and by the military incapacity which has been tolerated because it was supposed to represent certain political ideas, and which has made a terrible sacrifice of loyal soldiers. But so sound and determined is the heart of the loyal people, that on the encouragement that a change is to be made, and a new policy and a determined war to be inaugurated, they again come forward freely with men and money. And we are confident that were the President now to show by an honest and thorough enforcement of the Confiscation and Emancipation acts, not alone in the States which are not in our possession, but in those that our armies occupy, and by the summary dismissal of every officer who failed to come up to the requirement, the effect on the loyal people would be such that he could have all the men he requires without subjecting the same to the humiliation of a draft."

And the following from the New York Tribune for August 5:—

"Most certainly we believe that this draft might have been avoided. Had our Government promptly declared and consistently maintained the legal inability of a traitor to hold a loyal person in slavery, and openly invited every one claimed as his slave by a rebel to make his way as soon as possible to the Union lines, there to serve his country as should be required, and receive therefor a certificate of his freedom, we believe the Rebellion would have been crippled just where it is strongest, and ere this overthrown. We believe the Union is to-day in peril because, and only because, of its unwarranted tenderness towards slaveholding treason. We believe that one hundred thousand loyal and brave colored men might ere this have been enrolled as volunteers for the defense of the Union, provided it had been willing to fight their oppressors and our deadly enemies by the readiest, most effective, and perfectly justifiable weapons.

"But Slave Democracy and Border-State Unionism protest against allowing blacks to fight, and the Administration—we think mistakenly—defers to them, dreading tumult and division in the loyal States. So, in deference to Democratic and Border-State remonstrances and menaces (the Chicago Times declares that, if a black regiment is accepted from that City, there shall be no more white volunteers,) a heavy draft of whites is rendered requisite. We trust it will be promptly and heartily responded to.

"If a draft would only give us competent and whole-hearted Generals, we would demand a new one every week. As the case stands, we can only urge the President to exact vigor, vigilance and promptitude of every officer in command, superseding instantaneously any one who shall prove deficient in these qualities. Forbearance toward incompetent commanders is murderous cruelty to soldiers and treason to the Country. Every officer inculpated in such a wanton butchery as Ball's Bluff, such a disgraceful surprise and surrender as Murfreesboro',

should be superseded at once and sent to a stern court martial as soon as possible. It is a high crime in such creatures to plaster their shoulders with epaulettes. Now that we are to have men enough, let inactivity in a commander be punished as virtual disloyalty, and failure as proof of unfitness to command. One month is quite too long for a General to stand idle unless in front of an enemy in decidedly superior force; if one can find nothing of moment to do, let him be replaced by another who has no such difficulty. Let our raw soldiers be incorporated, so far as may be, into veteran regiments; and let them be speedily introduced to fighting—they can get digging enough at home. And let the fighting be so prompt and earnest that they may be at home in season for plowing and planting next Spring. They will not shrink from any field of duty; but they naturally prefer anything else to rotting away of camp fevers in pestilential marshes.

"And, as one million of our citizens are so soon to brave death and encounter exposure, privation and suffering in order to compel traitors to obey the laws of their country, let the President and his Cabinet set an example of implicit and thorough loyalty. There stands the Confiscation-Emancipation act—a very recent and emphatic embodiment of the Public Will in a law so plain that no one can pretend to misconceive or be puzzled by it—it is plain as a pikestaff. A hearty and unshaking execution of that act will tend to guard our soldiers against assassination by night and surprise and ambuscade by day. Mr. President! favor the citizens so soon to be transformed by your call into soldiers with an edifying example of perfect obedience to law. Let us hear at once that you require all your subordinates to respect and enforce the Emancipation features of the Confiscation act, and that no Unionist shall henceforth be recognized or surrendered as the slave of a traitor!"

Is it the special privilege and immunity of the conductors of the press thus to speak? If my language, at any time or on any occasion, has been more perspicuous than they have deemed it discreet to use, is it not manifest that their convictions in the case are as good as mine?

What is loyalty? What are we fighting for? What do my censors call for in the Administration? If they call for the putting down of the Conspiracy, do they not know that I call for that and more? Do they not know that while they call for the crushing of a modicum of the fallen fruit, I call for the uprooting of the tree, and the burning of it, root and branch, in unquenchable fire? While they call for the destruction of men, I demand that they stop not short of destroying the destroyer of men.

If my censors feel themselves specially moved to do something patriotic—if their hearts burn to be abating disloyalty—I submit that they can be doing something better than to be informing against those who have never been less than their peers in true patriotism and genuine loyalty. If they are not themselves in sympathy with Slavery, wanting better men than themselves slaughtered to save alive that institution, which has been depraving the people and despoiling the Country, let them try their hand at C. L. Vallandigham & Co., or other more deeply disguised disloyalists and conspirators.

For my own loyalty to human freedom, and fidelity to the cause of peace and righteousness, I may be permitted, without liability to the charge of boasting, appeal to the record of more than thirty years last past—the former half made in New England, and the latter in Warren County, Ohio.

One word more on enlistments. Since my strongest public expressions were made on this matter, my youngest son—under nineteen—has left Antioch College and enlisted. My other two are enrolled for the draft—the older more than willing to go, but for his wife and three children. If this blood must be spilt from my own veins, I ask of those who demand and take it, that it go for human freedom, and not for human enslavement. Do I ask too much?

ORSON S. MURRAY.

Foster's Crossings, Warren Co., O., Aug. 18, '62.

P. S.—Cassius M. Clay, in Covington, Ky., last Friday, told John G. Fee, in substance and to the effect, that he is refusing to take a command in the army, from the Administration, on account of the policy pursued toward Slavery. In the cars, on Saturday, I had it from a man of standing in Cincinnati. This man had it from Fee. What disloyalty in me exceeds this in Cassius M. Clay? While writing this paragraph, my attention has been turned to some of Cassius M. Clay's recent public expressions at Washington. One of them was this:—"As for myself, never, so help me God, will I draw a sword to keep the chains upon another fellow-being."

An old-line Whig and new-line Republican, a man of some influence here, of Border-State proclivities, says that for this Cassius M. Clay "ought to have his head off." This goes to show what loyalty means in the mouths of those who are now loudest in support of the present course pursued by the Administration. These are they who are barking on the scent of Abolitionists, and of as many as they choose to identify with Abolitionists. They don't want Slavery abolished. To them loyalty means the preservation of Slavery.

The New York Daily Tribune for August 21, in an editorial under the head "Generals," says:

"We have already lost many important positions most disastrously and disgracefully through the treachery or imbecility of officers intrusted with commands of which they were utterly unworthy. Half-hearted and no-hearted officers have thus far been our weightiest curse. There must be a new leaf turned over."

The Tribune goes on to describe notorious delinquencies of Generals, and then says:

"Lenity to such criminals is treason to the Republic and murder to her brave volunteers."

The Tribune further says:

"The President's responsibility in the premises is a very grave one." * * * "Hesitation in deference to their feelings [the feelings of his delinquent subordinates] is inhumanity, cruelty, and downright murder."

What have I said in my directness, more than is

here said in indirectness? Let it be made to appear. If the ruling Administration is to imprison all who are now pointing out its own disloyalty, it will "have a good time of it" before it gets through.

Finally, read Horace Greeley's letter addressed to the President of the United States, under the head, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions." The spirit of this address should bring dastardly, dirty politicians, and all pestilent poltroons that pander to Slavery, to recurrence to the great fundamental principle that the people are the sovereigns, and Presidents, Cabinets, Congresses and Generals their subordinates; and that Constitutions are their property at their own disposal.

The President's reply to Horace Greeley, evidently written by Wm. H. Seward, is a most astounding commentary on his do-nothing policy that is undermining freedom for the enthronement of Slavery.

O. S. M.

The Cincinnati Gazette and Commercial, and the New York Tribune, will much oblige their friend and patron by copying the foregoing.

O. S. M.

"Let us be Bold—but Prudent."

Under this head, on page 293, Brother M. M. Tousey has spoken in such a manner that silence on my part is liable to misconstruction. Yet it is difficult to know whether he desired or expected further utterance from me or not. And it is not easier to know whether or not he would be understood as doubting that there is good foundation for the opinion that President Lincoln's wife sympathizes with the Conspiracy and the conspirators, including their spies. If the brother had come boldly out, and said in so many words that he did not believe there was reason to believe as I believe concerning that woman's course, and had called on me for my reasons for my belief, he would have shown himself more "bold" than he has—if less "prudent."

I will reply to him somewhat as if he had been less prudent and more bold. Somehow he has deemed it prudent not to intimate any incredulity on his part, concerning the other numerous points I made on that occasion—not only points made in a manner "equally caustic," but points generally of more consequence. But to Brother Tousey's chosen single point. I will begin by asking him if he did not read abundantly in the papers—at the time that that woman's brother, an officer in the Southern army, was treating our prisoners in Richmond with such barbarity and brutality—that she was understood and known to be sympathizing, and making scandalous manifestation of her sympathy, in that direction? And did he ever hear one lisp to the contrary? I say that my papers—papers supporting the Administration—gave sufficient evidence for me to found my belief on; and I say that I never read or heard a word to the contrary.

And now for my other evidence, additional to that in the papers. Several months ago, a Professor of

Antioch College, who is now holding a position in the army, went to Washington, and when he returned to Yellow Springs stated it to be notorious in Washington that the President's wife was sympathizing and communicating with the women-spies. I had this personally from a brother Professor of his at Yellow Springs. Furthermore, a man of National renown and unquestionable veracity, direct from Washington, the halls of Congress and the White House, told me with his own lips there could be no doubt the President's wife was a plague and a poison to the President, touching these matters in question.

Now, if imprudence has been increased, and not diminished—making a complication involving the interests of still other parties—Brother Tousey may have occasion for the reflection that it has been imprudent in him to call me out. If he feels inclined to shift the responsibility back on me, and say it was imprudent for me to heap odium on iniquity in high places, I tell him that is my own affair. [And this is not to be taken as with any feeling of resentment toward him.] It is my wont—it is my way—it is what I have always been in the habit of doing—to cleanse the fountain; to make the accountability in proportion to the power and the influence; virtually and practically to act on the principle that the governors are accountable to the governed—the higher accountable to the lower.

This did not come of the religious teaching I had from the pulpit and the ~~Bible~~—that was to the contrary. It was in me instinctively—naturally. It was a moral philosophy arising out of my own good nature. This plea is in self-justification—not asking credit, nor deprecating condemnation. When I was quite young—was in my youth—and taught school, I always despised punishing the small ones and at the same time allowing the large ones to run riot and set the small ones vicious examples. I suppose it has been carrying out this philosophy that has got me in the notion that gods are accountable to men, and not men to gods—that practically as well as theoretically it is for the people to hold Presidents to account, and not Presidents the people.

There is another particular in which Brother Tousey didn't know me. In the thirty years that I have been writing more or less for the press, it has been my constant aim and study to keep a "conscience void of offense"—especially as to the least taint of false or slanderous speaking. I confess to something of impulsiveness, under strongly impelling circumstances; and a wholesome indignation, under excessive provocation. But malignity is not in my nature. Ten thousand women and men, all over the country, each the peer, the superior, of Lady Lincoln and husband, and all of them reported of as having committed like offenses in their places to the offense she has committed in her place—might all have escaped my notice altogether. It is not that I delight in exposing the frailties and offenses of the woman and her husband—it is that I dislike to have the

people corrupted by the images they have set up to worship.

Brother Tousey says:

"Let us rather strive to conciliate, to harmonize, but not at the expense of truth."

To me, the expression is too vague. If he had told what he would have conciliated—what harmonized—we might better understand what he would have us to do. As it is, he has left us—at least me—in doubt. If he thinks that "all the fountains of the great deep" of this Nation's iniquity have been sufficiently "broken up" and stirred up—if he thinks the corruption has been probed to the bottom—let him put his fortitude in exercise, possess himself, "soul" and body, in all possible patience, and look on yet awhile and see what there is still to be seen.

Another brother, on another page of the same paper, says:—"Tis not Abraham Lincoln's [war]. 'Tis Humanity's." Is it even so? Is it Humanity that has made all this havoc of men, waste of money, and devastation of country, thus far, to worse than no good purpose? Is it Humanity that has made our fire-sides desolation, laid waste our fields, and made our Land an Aceldama and a Golgotha, to appease a monster that is not appeased—that is not to be appeased? Is it Humanity that is now butchering back into bondage the only element of loyalty in all the realm of conspiracy. I can not so see it?

O. S. M.

The Complication.

If ever there was madness, it seems to me that it is now exhibited by Northern politicians. Every man of sense knows that the only salvation for the Country is a union of sentiment, feeling and action, on the part of the people of the North. But now, when party spirit should be forgotten, and only one thought, How to save the Country, ought to fill and move the public mind and heart, party spirit seems, almost more than ever, to be exerting its baleful influence. I belong to neither of the leading political parties, and have no prejudices for or against either of them. As a natural consequence the Democratic Party, being the party out of power, makes by far the most offensive exhibition of party spirit. It is for the interest of the Republicans to favor a union of all parties in support of the Administration and the war. I can scarcely take up a Democratic paper, without finding an exhibition of low partyism that would be disgraceful in time of peace. Such partyism as our Country has always been full of is pernicious, and disgusting, and demoralizing enough at any time, but in the present condition of the Country it is no less than suicidal. We hear this and that party, and this and that man denounced, but I can tell these partizans that in no other way can they do as much harm. Any man with half an eye must see that unless we can be and remain united, in our hearts as well as in measures to be adopted, there is no hope for us.

And there is no hope. The Nation, as at present organized, is doomed. The spirit of discord that is to be our ruin is rife, and growing more and more manifest and violent every day. The timely word of admonition will not be heeded. "Whom the gods destroy they first make mad." If "the gods" have the management of Northern politicians (and the politicians rule the people) nothing is more evident than that they intend to destroy them.

That final results will be good I have no doubt, but that the old order of things will be restored I have no expectation. I believe that ultimate good grows out of present evil, and if on account of the destruction of the present Government and institutions, better ones shall be established, it will appear that this insane party spirit has answered a good purpose. But let the thoughtful not "sin that grace may abound"—not "do evil that good may come." It is ours to keep our skirts clear of even the evil that may prove the final good. It is for us to remain calm and steady, adding no fuel to the flame. Let the maddened ones, that can not be hindered, work the destruction. Let us be prepared to build the new in place of the old, that for the excess of this madness, we can not save.

Here is a specimen of what appears in a large class of Democratic journals:

"Gov. Tod, of Ohio, has published a pledge that all those who freely contribute money to raise volunteers shall be exempt from drafting if he can possibly accomplish it. This will create a fuss, and ought to. Every attempt will be made to rush the Democrats to war. For one, we shall not go under any circumstances, let the consequences be what they may. Let Democrats keep wide awake and stand up for their rights. They never commenced this infamous war."

The following is an extract from a speech of Dr. Edson B. Olds, Democratic candidate for Congress in the twelfth Ohio district:

"In God's name, have we not had enough blood! Our opponents forced this war upon us, and they now call on us to help them out; but I tell you, Mr. Lincoln, that when you strike down constitutions, trample laws under foot, and then call on Democrats to help you, you will not get them. Now, is not this war a war for these purposes? I tell you, fellow-Democrats, there is no honor, no gain, no profit, no glory, in this war. It is all loss. It is my brother you strike down. No Democrat will enlist in this war until the Administration changes its policy and war-cry. * * *

"I denounce Lincoln as a tyrant. He has perjured his soul. He may imprison me, but I will still cry tyrant. I denounce these acts of oppression as foul acts of perjury against the Constitution.

"And now, my fellow-Democrats, I am going to have a vision, which, if it were not a vision, might be treason; but what I now say is in sleep, and I am not, therefore, responsible.

"I see blood at the ballot-box this fall. The President has issued his proclamation for three hundred thousand more troops, and Congress has passed a law authorizing him to draft them. He will have to draft them if he gets them, because these cowardly Abolitionists will not enlist. There is an election

this fall, and they want to carry it. They want to draft Democrats; they will draft them to prevent their voting. They have the power, and can so arrange it. You will not be cheated. I tell you you will not submit to these wrongs. You will see blood. If they attempt to arrest us, and take us from our families to support an Administration in its violations of the Constitution, we will resist even to blood. If the Democrats don't succeed at the ballot-box, they will succeed at the point of the bayonet."

Dr. Olds has since been arrested and imprisoned, but such arrests and imprisonment will only increase the hatred and opposition, which will manifest itself all the more, as opportunity offers.

F. B.

To Contributors.

In a paper no larger than ours, it is quite difficult—rather impossible—to give all a hearing, at least to publish all articles that are sent. Let it not be inferred, because we do not publish an article, that we necessarily consider it unworthy. This is not the case. Articles are sent us from persons we greatly esteem, and know to be talented, which, for want of room, or possibly because we think the matter, or some of it, more appropriate for some other kind of paper, we feel impelled to decline. Some articles we decline on account of their LENGTH; and some that we do publish, we and our readers would like better if not so long. On the whole, it is rather difficult to conduct a paper just right, as our readers may have before heard. One very serious objection to some articles is that they are so badly constructed, written, and punctuated, that they are not fit for publication, until a great amount of labor is bestowed upon them. We can get matter much easier than to re-write such articles, though they may contain excellent ideas.

F. B.

Back Numbers.

We can no longer furnish all the back numbers, and shall be obliged to disappoint quite a number who have recently ordered them. We will however send the numbers we have, making no charge for them. We will send of these numbers to all who have missed any, and wish to complete their files.

I am soul-sick of all this cant about the President, to prove that he is an honest man. Away with it all! and judge him by his acts, not by his intentions. I know he is an exceedingly amiable man, and therein lies the Nation's danger. He might be a good passenger in the ship in calm weather, never creating a disturbance anywhere; but he is not the man to serve as pilot amid the breakers. He deludes every man who talks with him into the belief that he is going to announce a policy for the vigorous putting down of the Rebellion, and Slavery, if he can be convinced that such is the will of the people; but he pays no heed to any demonstration of theirs. I have no doubt the instincts of his human soul come out, and he feels what he says at the moment he is talking with Wendell Phillips or Charles Sumner; and then, when he is talking with Border-State men, the instincts of Kentucky predominate, and he acts on their side.—[S. E. W., in the Liberator.

**PROSPECTUS
OF THE
NEW REPUBLIC.**

At a time so momentous as the present, there is an imperative demand for the exercise of all the wisdom, heroism, self-sacrifice, charity, and the forgetting of all past differences, and the sinking of all worldly ambition, in one sublime, prayerful, determined, brotherly effort to save our beloved country from the terrible ruin that more than threatens to swallow up our liberties, prosperity, peace. How to conquer the rebels, is not all of the great problem that must be settled before there is any certainty that we, as a Nation, have anything in the future to hope for.

The NEW REPUBLIC has two leading and distinctive objects: First, by humble and modest, but earnest and thorough effort, to promote, to the fullest extent of its ability, that fraternity of feeling among all parties and classes of society, on which our salvation so vitally depends. Second, to discuss, in a free, untrammeled manner, but in no partisan, dogmatical or dictatorial spirit, all of those fundamental and practical questions and principles of Government and human rights which the adjustment of our National politics will involve.

Society is divided into three distinct and leading classes. The Radical Reformer, the Liberal Conservative, and the opponent of Progress. The tendencies of the times are toward a union of the first two classes. No radical reform or idea has been advocated, but has embodied an important, though possibly mixed and partial truth. The agitation of single reform, has been useful mainly in the way of preparing the public mind for a comprehensive understanding and thorough adjustment of, the great political and social questions that lie at the basis of our National happiness and well-being. The law of extremes and equilibrium is universal law. Extremisms in reform have been necessary to balance the opposite extreme of stationary conservatism. The illustration has been that of extremes; the tendency now is toward equilibrium.

The aim of the NEW REPUBLIC will be to combine an earnest and energetic radicalism with a wise conservatism. It will advocate all rational reforms, and seek to promote a greater unity of feeling, and concert of action, and comprehensiveness of view, among all classes of reformers. It will take sides with no party, and will never be involved in personal or party quarrels, of any kind, or in any degree. So far as it acknowledges and follows leadership, Jesus Christ will be its standard in morals, and Thomas Jefferson in politics. It will advocate a reconstruction in our Government so far as to allow of a settlement of the Slavery question in such a manner as not to involve the sacrifice of justice, freedom, human rights, a sound policy and the Nation's safety, on the one hand, or unconstitutional and despotic methods on the other. It will advocate a radical revolution in politics and governmental administration, so far as there has been a departure from the Jeffersonian Platform, and systematic and persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the Government. It will be an especial advocate of simplicity and economy in Government, and attempt to demonstrate the correctness of the doctrine that "that Government is best that governs least." It will advocate a uniform and national system of currency, a uniform and humane system of prison discipline, uniform marriage and divorce laws, a new and improved system of representation, and present suggestive ideas on the subject of schools, internal improvements, post-office regulations &c. It will also give the thoughts of the ablest writers on Anthropological and Physiological science.

It will not aim to be a news-paper, but will note and comment upon, the World's progress, and the leading events of the times.

TERMS: At the rate of one dollar a year for any length of time. Address,

NEW REPUBLIC.
Cleveland, O.

Reform Journals.

We propose, as a token of fraternal appreciation, and for the convenience of our readers, to keep standing in our columns, for a few weeks, the following list (which may be enlarged from time to time) of Reform Journals.

BANNER OF LIGHT.

A large weekly journal, devoted to Spiritualism and Reform literature.—Luther Colby Editor. Two dollars a year. Address, Banner of Light, Boston, Mass.

LIBERATOR.

A leading Garrisonian journal—free for the discussion of all subjects.—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Editor. Two dollars and fifty cents a year. 221 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

INVESTIGATOR.

Infidel journal.—Horace Seaver, Editor. Two dollars a year. 103 Court St., Boston, Mass.

PINE AND PALM.

Anti-Slavery.—James Redpath, Editor. Two dollars a year. Address, Boston, Mass.

ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

National Organ of the Garrisonian Abolitionists. Two dollars a year. No. 48 Beckman St., New York.

HERALD OF PROGRESS.

Devoted to the Harmonial Philosophy, and general Reform.—Andrew Jackson Davis, Editor. Two dollars a year. 274 Canal St., New York.

THE PRINCIPIA.

A religious Anti-Slavery journal. William Goodell, Editor. Two dollars a year. 104 William St., New York.

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

Frederick Douglass, Editor. One dollar a year. Rochester, N. Y.

THE CIRCULAR.

Organ of the Oneida Perfectionists.—One dollar a year, or free. Address, Circular, Oneida, N. Y.

THE SIBYL.

Devoted to Dress and other Reforms.—Dr. Lydia Sayler Hasbrouck, Editor. Fifty cents a year. Address, Middletown, Orange Co., N. Y. .

THE PROGRESSIVE AGE.

Monthly. Fifty cents a year. Hopedale, Mass.

THE MAYFLOWER.

Devoted to the Interests of Woman.—Miss Lizzie Bunnell, Editor. Semi-Monthly. Fifty cents a year. Peru, Ind.

WESTERN OLIVE BRANCH.

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